644 2. Next come the Ouidi Naba, the Larralé Naba, the Kamsaogo Naba, the Gounga Naba, the Nemdo Naba, and the Poé Naba.

[527 788] 3. On Friday and other Moslem holidays, the imam who represents Islam at Ouagadougou comes to give the doua, a kind of benediction which consists of reciting verses from the Koran, in the morning as well as in the evening.

Lebeg'sonre. As soon as these honors have been completed, the Mogho Naba goes back into his house to put on a less dazzling costume. Shortly thereafter he once more returns to the courtyard.

[59] Next the Baloum Naba and his retinue present their respects as described above. The Ouidi Naba and his followers are not required to do so unless they have foreigners to present to His Majesty.

[533] Then, the Bend'Naba, gangando, and luinsé (drummers) and the doudissi (violin players) play together in praise of the Mogho Naba.

It should be noted that the Mogho Naba speaks to no one before his morning appearance. It is not until he has finished his ceremonial duties and returned to his apartments that his tampa (sisters) greet him.

644 273 Before the officials and ministers of the court return to their homes and as soon as the Mogho Naba has withdrawn, the Sogon'kassanga, that is, the ranking servitor, offers them some dam (known as dolo or fermented millet beer).

1. One canari [jar] of dam is offered to the Baloum Naba, who is obligated to give a gourdful to the Zusoaba, one to the Wedkim Naba (chief groom), and one to the Soré Naba (Bendré, "chief of the path").

2. A canari of dam is then offered to the Ouidi Naba who is obligated to give a gourdful to the Poé Naba (chief confessor for the wives and pages of the Mogho Naba) and one koré [gourd] to the Bend'Naba. He drinks the remainder with the other ministers in his retinue.

[276] 3. On Fridays and holidays, kola nuts, goure are offered to the imam after he has given his doua and before the Mogho Naba goes to renew his pledge of loyalty [60] to France before the representative of the Republic in Upper Volta.

241 Baningha (large white millet or sorghum).

These two types are grown for food, [247] although the large white millet is especially reserved for horses in well-to-do households.

[262 273] Kazinga (large red millet). As a food the poorer Mossi prefer this to the baningha, but it is more especially grown for the making of dam, millet beer.

[556] Mouf (rice) is sought only by the chiefs, notables, and a few families of dakangba (well-to-do men).

Benga (beans).

Souma (peas of either the small green variety or large white or red ones).

Niouyan (from niouri, "yam"), grown only in certain areas.

Nangouri or sounkama (peanuts).

Pèsca (fabirama) [a tuber plant].

Sinni or sili (sesame), grown only by a few people who like it.

Bito (sorrel), used in preparing the sauce served with sagbo.

Mana (gombo [okra]) is also cultivated.

Aside from its food crops, each family has its own plot for cotton (lamdo) which provides for the clothing needed during the year.

311 178 I am told that fields are much more extensive today than in former times, in spite of the abolition of slavery. This is explained by the fact that many areas supposed to be haunted were formerly left uncultivated. It is said, however, that the Moaga used to grow larger crops since in those days he was closer to the soil.

[248] At the present time there is a lack of farm hands. As [857] recently as twenty years ago, the young Moaga followed his parents to the field as soon as he was six or seven years old. He took a liking to the work at a very young age. Before the French [484] occupation, the Moaga rarely left his village because of the dangers on the roads, frequented in those days by bandits (usually descend- [579] ants of naba). People were even afraid to go into the bush alone, for fear of being attacked, captured, and reduced to slavery.

433 178 There was little contact even between adjoining villages. At Ouagadougou, no one ventured from section to section unless he had very good reason and was armed to the teeth. In short, everyone

264 meal of sagbo in the evening.

What we call breakfast is hardly known. Between the two main meals, however, the chiefs have meat grilled or roasted. They are very fond of it and have it seasoned with enough salt and pepper to make it possible to consume the endless number of [273] small gourds of beer which they drink from morning to night.

The Moaga has only one real meal a day, the evening meal. A large millet cake satisfies the day's hunger. If there is any left over, he keeps it carefully for his morning meal. If there is none left, a frequent state of affairs, he makes do with his zompanrga, crushed millet diluted with water and sometimes eaten with a bit of vegetable fat or a few peanuts.

He rarely eats any rice, and if he has no sagbo, he contents himself with benga and souma.

261 527 It is during the festivals that the Moaga eats his fill. At such times the head of the compound kills a goat, a sheep, or some chickens and has sagbo and fabirama prepared, or beans with copious amounts of karite butter. This is the feast. The members of the family stuff themselves to the point where attacks of diarrhea are inevitable. The results of the attacks are all the more serious in that they are never cared for properly.

263 439 The only seasonings known to the Moaga are kalgo (soumbala), red pepper, okra, and salt. No more than a few years ago, however, before the [251] development of trade in the colony, salt was brought from Timbuktu and Mopti by the Dioula and Yarcé and was so expensive that the Mossi people who lived in the countryside often went for six months without tasting salted food.

241 There is reason to believe that the time is not far off when the Moaga will devote his efforts much more intensively to cash crops, such as cotton, potatoes, peanuts, etc. In this domain, the province chiefs at Ouagadougou have made real progress.

Mogh'Nab' Kawinré (Threshing the Grain of the Mogho Naba)

241 643 782 Sacrifices. For this ceremony, the emperor summons the Mankougoudougou Tengsoba (a descendant of the autochthonous Nioniossé, masters of the land) to Ouagadougou and gives him a

231 bother to raise them; as a result the number of horses has decreased, and this country, formerly renowned for its mounts, may have none in a not too distant future.

Unfortunately, horses do not thrive in every part of the country; Ouagadougou is particularly deadly for them, although, to my knowledge, the true reason for this insalubrity has not yet been found. The natives attribute it to the water, and there is no doubt that horses watered at the wells are in better health than those watered at the streams; it is also true that horses thrive in areas only a few kilometers [136] from Ouagadougou. Europeans tend to attribute this mortality to the tsetse fly. The two opinions are easy to reconcile, for, on the one hand, tsetse flies prefer damp places, and, on the other hand, the [312] Ouagadougou wells contain salt of magnesium which purges the horses and thus checks the disease.

231 The Peul own fine herds of bovines, some rather small and without 563 humps (small cattle), others large and humped (zebu). Traders also 437 use the zebu as a beast of burden. Much of this cattle belongs to the Mossi who seldom tend their own herds but prefer to entrust them to the Peul shepherds who keep the milk in payment. An adult cow yields from two to four liters a day during the good season. The guardians, however, know how to make the best of this near slavery. When an animal dies it is never one of theirs, and if the owner of the herd /a Mossi/ dies without telling his heirs where his cattle is to be found and how many head he owns, the Peul carefully refrain from disclosing the herd entrusted to them. In former days they were slightly more conscientious because they feared retaliation, but now they bless the French occupation.

231 The herds are sometimes decimated by an epizootic disease, as happened in 1910 and 1911 when the Koupéla area was ravaged by what must have been the bovine plague or peripneumonia. The cows would cough, entirely lose their appetites, and die within a few days.

The Mossi also raise bees. The hives are made of straw or flexible sticks and placed in the trees; sometimes swarms of bees also settle in the hollow trunks of baobabs. The honey is gathered at the end and at the beginning of the winter season; the hive is smoked out and [273] the bees destroyed. Honey is used primarily to make bésé, a kind of hydromel which the Moslem Yarsé, Peul, and Haoussa like very much, and which they are allowed to drink in spite of its fermentation; [237 whereas, in principle, millet beer is forbidden to them. The wax 306] is sold to the jewelry-makers who use it to make bracelets by the lost wax process.

592 A typical soukala consists of the master's hut, a hut for each wife, one hut for the sheep and goats, another for the horse if he has one, a hut for the family mill, and, finally, a receiving hut with two doors sufficiently high to permit entrance without stooping and set sometimes as an entrance way and sometimes within the cluster of huts. All these dwellings stand in a circle and are joined either by a cob wall or by /11/ mat fences taller than a man and held up by stakes. The master's hut, which usually stands beside the huts for the horses and sheep, is set off from the others by mats to insure his privacy. A low wall describes an arc within the inner courtyard; this is the kitchen when it is not raining. Big jars of fired clay which are used to brew millet beer rest between the huts. In front of this cluster of huts, a shelter is built, usually high enough to permit standing and consisting basically of forked stakes with branches and séko resting upon them; this shelter serves as a refuge during the hot part of the day. Small boys and unmarried girls live with their mother, while older boys, servants, and slaves each have their separate huts which face the dwellings of the master and his wives.

The term yri or soukala covers this whole complex of structures. Each soukala is a distinct unit, and, some time after they marry, the children build their own residence, set completely apart from that of their parents, often in another part of the village and sometimes in another village altogether. The soukala stand fifteen to twenty meters apart, and, because of this, the villages, though adequately concentrated, cover a rather extensive area. The heads of cantons place an ostrich egg at the peak of the roof on their own dwellings, and some even build terraced huts higher than the surrounding dwellings. They keep their riches in these huts and a prison in the basement. An earthen stairway leads to the terrace where the master of the house receives his guests when the sun begins to sink on the horizon.

721 These people, apparently so peaceful today, were formerly quite warlike and went off to war at the slightest pretext. Foreign to the land they now occupy, the Mossi must have conquered it by force of arms. The Tarik-es-Soudan /History of Sudan/ relates that the people of Yatenga seized Timbuktu in the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth they probably carried their incursions as far as Lake Bébo and even Oualata. (4) The Mossi army was greatly feared.

4. Delafosse, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 80.

22/ for roasting and is replaced with green millet, eaten raw after being
24/ beaten with a small stick to remove the chaff. /47/ Certain kinds of
26/ large millet are sweet and not too unpleasant to eat in this fashion.
Horses grow fat because millet is their staple food and they may eat
221 as much as they please. Men also profit greatly, because beer brewed
241 from new millet tastes much better than that made from old millet,
273 and when millet abounds, drink is never wanting. At this time rice is harvested, threshed on the threshing floors, and laid aside carefully for festive occasions.

221 At the end of October the rains have stopped almost completely.
241 The beans are gathered and laid out in the fields on millet stalks or on séko held up from the ground by forked stakes to keep the termites from eating them, or the beans may be brought home and tossed on the séko which serve as shelters in front of the soukala. Now is the time to harvest the small millet, which is dry. The millet stalks are severed at ground level by the men and laid out with all heads oriented in the same direction to facilitate the work of the women, who cut off the heads and gather them in heaps. When the millet has been cut, the women fill their baskets. The largest containers are used for the occasion, and each woman uses her ingenuity to pile the millet as high as possible over her basket, using the longest ears or bean stems as supports, like the Zouaves who vie for the tallest pack. Should the line of women on their way back to the village meet a man known for his generosity, they sing, cry out, and surround him until he throws them a few handfuls of cowries to buy a jar of beer.

221 As they near the threshing floor their cries get louder, and each
241 woman comes to the granary and hands her basket to the man who
251 stands there. These granaries are very crudely built and consist basi-
343 cally of sticks driven into the ground in a circle to hold up a séko which is wrapped around them. The floor is made up of another séko, usually resting on the ground but sometimes raised on stones or forked sticks to avoid termites. This is where the millet is placed prior to threshing. The granaries stand around the threshing floor of beaten earth, which is located 100 or 200 meters from the village, some-
674 times even farther. Thieves are no important threat. They may cut down millet when it stands in the bush, but they rarely steal millet already stored. Only goats, sheep, and guinea hens are to be feared, and they are kept away from the granaries by thorns.

221 As soon as these heavier tasks are over, everyone digs up peanuts
241 and peas. The whole family gathers under the shade of a tree, and

443 rice, beans, karite butter, roasted peanuts sold in little heaps for one centime, raw peanuts, and all the spices for the sauce. Yarsé or Haoussa girls walk from group to group with small basins full of kola nuts, and chiefs and rich men buy one or two nuts which they usually share with their followers. Foreign traders sit under shelters of foliage or millet stalks and sell a few pearls, salt or copper bars, henna or blue dye, while bald-headed vultures hovering above the butchers point out their location to everyone. The meat on sale consists of a goat or sheep, sometimes a beef found dead in the bush or more rarely one slaughtered especially for the occasion. Some people bring chicks and occasionally a hen. This is about all that is to be found.

443 To these comestibles drink must be added. The women who sell
273 millet beer occupy a whole section of the market, and this section is not the least frequented nor the quietest spot. While butchers may be located by watching the vultures, it is possible to spot the tavern-keepers merely by cocking one's ears. Their presence is revealed by the cries, the beating of drums, the hubbub inevitably connected with a crowd slightly the worse for drink. The Mossi undoubtedly drink a lot of millet beer, but the beverage sold at the marketplace does not easily go to the head. The beer that is boiled again (tēsé /sic/) is far more dangerous with its rather high percentage of alcohol, and hydromel (bésé) is even more so. The latter is made of honey and millet flour boiled in water, to which barm is added to induce fermentation. These two beverages are truly potent, especially when drunk
[579] alternately. This is why brawls occur rather frequently, and sometimes real battles in which people are wounded. These are drunkards' quarrels. Men are indeed the same everywhere, and how many fairs without a drunk or two are to be found in our own country? It must be said, however, that more intoxicated natives are to be met with in Mossi country than in France.

443 The market begins at about ten o'clock and usually closes at two; the important ones open around noon and last until nightfall. When we discuss the industries, we shall mention the other products which are sold there.

283 Weaving is the most widespread industry, the one that all men may
396 practice and all do practice to some extent. The cotton is ginned,
462 and the thread prepared by the women. Delafosse, in his work on the Siéna, has described the process accurately: "When the cotton has been separated from the husk, the seeds are removed with an iron rod

462 on the other hand, are female prerogatives; every woman knows how to make millet beer, soap, karite butter, and kalro (soumbara) with varying effectiveness.

273 Millet beer is brewed with sprouted millet, which is boiled and reboiled in a volume of water proportionate to the amount of grain; yeast is added to the brew on the last day. The liquid is strained through twigs to remove the residue of millet. The more the beer is boiled, the stronger it is; when hops are added, the beverage recalls our own beer.

388 Soap is made with karite butter to which the ashes of millet stalks are added for potash.

252 Oil is extracted from peanuts, previously roasted and crushed between two stones; the women have no press and therefore lose a considerable amount of oil, but it remains in the residue, which is also sold.

Kalro is made from the beans found in the pods of néré /locust bean tree/. It has a strong and characteristic odor, but it enhances the sauce with a not unpleasant flavor.

463 The pottery, wood, and copper industries are carried out by specialists. This does not mean that only the members of a caste may exercise them, but that an apprenticeship is required which is not undergone by everyone, and that people bequeath to their children the secrets of the trade.

323 /58/ Pottery is chiefly made by women, although the men may
462 also work with clay and actually often make jars (canari), while the women make the large jars which are used in brewing millet beer, small pots in which they cook sarabo and sauce, and shallow dishes which are used to serve food.

323 The molding and firing methods are similar. A shallow pit is dug into the ground, larger or smaller depending on the size desired for the jar. The walls of the hole are pounded smooth. The woman places in this mold the prepared clay, previously kneaded with the feet and any stones removed. The clay is slightly damp, and the pit is dusted with dry earth. The woman spreads the clay with a well-polished granite stone and makes it revolve so that every portion of the clay is worked between the stone and the pit wall. After a while, she obtains the jar she wants in the proper thickness.

When several potters live in the same village, as usually happens, they get together for the firing. The jars are marked and gathered in

782 Friday evening. The sacrifice is the usual one described earlier, but
769 the invoking formula is replaced with the following: "Soul of my
796 father, stretch out your hand and take this chicken which I offer you; grant me to reach next year in good health, and I will return with another chicken." The chicken killed on the grave is not roasted as in other sacrifices, but cooked in water.

On those days one must be careful not to sleep outside. The souls come to drink beer from the vats, and woe to those who lie in their way. They will kill them or at least make them seriously ill.

782 On the feast day itself, all those who have some obligation toward
769 the naba or toward the man who is holding the festivities, such as
796 those to whom he has given a wife or who have asked him for one,
431 come to greet him with a rooster and cowries if they did not come on the previous day. Many of his subjects, especially the canton chiefs, also come to offer their rooster and cowries. On the other hand, if an important visitor comes on that day, it is an elementary rule of civility to offer him a rooster.

782 Usually, on the very day of the festivities, no sacrifices are offered
769 on the graves. The victims are offered to the protective kikirsi of
796 the hut, of the inner courtyard, of the outer courtyard, of the whole soukala. The number of sacrificed chickens varies in proportion to the number of gifts. When the sacrifices are over, the naba assembles his people, and the beer is brought in and presented to him. He first pours a little on the ground as an offering to the ancestral spirits, then he drinks and distributes the ars among his people. This is not
[273] a good day to discuss important matters, because after noon everybody is more or less drunk.

On the following Monday and Wednesday, the naba proceeds at dawn with great pomp to two neighboring villages (Nakalbo and Sabré) to sacrifice a beef to the tangandé. Much feasting ensues there on those two days; the naba loses a beef /in each village/ but gains many chickens and a few thousand cowries. He also goes to the village of Toulgou on the day when basra is celebrated in that locality, because his family originated there.

527 The kibsa is the Moslem sheep feast, and it is celebrated forty days after the end of the great feast. All Mossi celebrate it in private; every family has brewed millet beer, and on that day millet mush is replaced with rice and meat. These festivities are even more intimate than the previous ones in the sense that they are held

victorious heroes that they were only mortals. The thought of death is wholesome and beneficial.

The "bean feast" is so named because on that day the naba eats bean sauce for the first time in the year.

The naba's hoeing ceremony (na-kobo) is celebrated twenty-one days after the previous one, and like it, like the naky, always on a Saturday. When the naba of Koupéla was solemnly invested by the naba of Bélousa, he used to go with a large number of horsemen and much pomp to hoe a field located some distance from Koupéla. Nowadays he merely breaks ground on a path which connects his huts with those of his two prime ministers. He gives the first blows with the hoe to the sound of drums, and his men take up from there. If the Peul and the horsemen have come in sufficient numbers, they run races. As is usual in such circumstances, beer flows freely, and at the end of the day everyone is drunk. These festivities bring the naba a few thousand cowries offered by his subjects.

There ceremonies, naky, nakobo, do they not constitute a sort of homage to agriculture, do they not recall similar festivities celebrated long ago by the Romans and even today by the Chinese?

The market which follows each of these feasts is always crowded. Several beeves and large numbers of sheep are killed. Everyone makes a point of attending in his very best clothes, and the sight of this motley crowd is quite interesting indeed.

Chapter 3. Magic

Mgr. Le Roy, as already mentioned, defines magic as "the art of coercing into one's service the forces of nature, or harnessing the powers of the invisible world, through certain occult practices of a more or less religious character." This is what we shall now study. To put some order into a subject which is wholly lacking in it in the mind of the native, we shall first discuss the superstitions, then the sorcerers.

Like all primitive people, black or white, the Mossi are very superstitious. Were not our own ancestors, in the Middle Ages? Have superstitious beliefs, such as those concerning thirteen people at table,

243
343 are tied, placed in baskets, and carried to special huts. These are small straw huts built on stakes, that is, raised on thick pieces of wood, which stand in a long curved line by the fields. About twenty such huts often stand side by side. Both men and women share in the harvesting.

243 Whenever the millet is to be eaten, the heads are taken from these straw huts and threshed with a stick to set the grain loose. This threshing is done by the men.

Aside from the ordinary small millet, it is the large red millet that is grown most extensively, as a rule, among the Mossi. They [194] call it kaziéra or kaziéga (we know that the r and g are interchangeable in Mossi; people will say, for example, either nora or noga to mean "chicken") and the Bambara call it niooulé. The large red millet is the kind used chiefly for dolo.

This is the millet that is planted before any other, as soon as the first rains begin to fall. The ouaka is used to remove the weeds which have grown in the fields, then the weeds are burned and the large red millet is sowed at the time of the first storms (April). It is sowed in the same fashion as the small millet, by holding the koutiaga in one hand and the small gourd containing grain in the other.

When the millet has come out of the ground, a fortnight /469/ is allowed to elapse and then the weeds are cleared with the ouaka. When the millet is grown, the women and children are sent out to protect it against birds. The millet is ripe around September 1.

The bulk of the harvesting work is done by the men. The stalks, which are usually 3 meters high and which may even reach 4 are cut down at the base. Once they have been dug out and laid down, the heads, which are thick and tuftlike with red flowers, are cut with a knife and carried to the soukala. The women do the carrying as they do for other kinds of millet. The large red millet is threshed only as it is needed. The threshing is done by the men with a stick.

Let us note that when a new piece of land is cleared, the large red millet is sown first to find out if the soil is good. It is only in the following year, when this has been ascertained, that the small millet is sown.

The red millet is also cultivated around the soukala, like maize.
●[273] As a rule the Mossi use the large red millet only to make dolo
231 (dama in Mossi). They may also give it to horses, but some horses
262

222 top of the trunk, and they are deeply indented. The trunk never
137 bears leaves except when it is young. The dark green of the leaves and their toughness makes /sic/ them look from afar like the artificial zinc leaves of some theatrical backdrops or weather vanes. The youngest leaves at the top are strongly imbricated and ensheathed, and ivory white in color. They are very tender and yield palm cabbage. The leaves of the rônier only fall off when completely dry.

"The fruits, which are called rône, come in clusters of about forty or fifty. They are the size of a medium-sized melon and very heavy. Their covering is green when they are young, orange-yellow when they are ripe. The large seeds, which are blackish and disc-shaped, or like spheres flattened at the poles, are surrounded with a fibrous, gold-yellow meat which is very watery and very fragrant. Its taste is pleasant, although slightly tinged with turpentine. The
[261] natives eat large quantities of it, especially in times of scarcity.

313 "Rônier wood is dense, long lasting, and remarkably tough.
137 502/ Immune to insects and humidity, it is excellently suited to the manufacture of piles, and often used in the construction of bridges and wharves. The male trees alone are used. The female trees can only be used for fencing, for they are hollow and lacking in strength....

222 "In addition to the fruit, the Blacks also eat the roots of the
137 young shoots, the taste of which is slightly astringent and rather un-
262 pleasant. They are eaten raw. The terminal buds of the palms are very tender. They are palm cabbages, less tasty to be sure than those of Oreodoxa oleracea, but nevertheless deserving of recognition. When cut into small pieces 2 centimeters square and well seasoned with oil, vinegar, salt and pepper, they make a very good salad, especially if they were previously soaked for twenty-four hours. This dish is highly prized by Europeans who live in the Sudan. Finally,
[263] the rônier yields a fairly abundant sap from which sugar might be
273 extracted. When fermented, it produces a palm wine of inferior quality."

137 It must be added that the fibers of the rônier leaves are also
[285] utilized. The West African Blacks use them to make baskets (as for example in Mossi territory) or cords (as for instance in Upper Gambia).

222 137 Now for the kankanga (plural kankansé; the Bambara and Malinké call it n'toro, the Foulbé guip-bi, and the Nounouma /504/ kaporo). The kankanga is the native fig tree of West Africa. Its fruits are none other than figs, not as good to be sure as those eaten in Europe, but figs nevertheless. The Mossi, as well as the Gourounsi, Bambara, etc., usually eat these figs as they are. There are ripe ones to be found at all times of the year, and one plucks them at will. 259 261 In times of famine, instead of eating them in this fashion, one allows them to dry in the sun and then mashes them on crushing stones (among the Mossi) or in small mortars (among the Bambara), They are thus made into a sort of meal which is boiled and which serves as a substitute for millet flour. At such times the Mossi also eat the leaves of the kankanga. They cook them in boiling water and add salt.

As for the Gourounsi, sometimes they eat the figs fresh, and 252 sometimes they prepare them for their sauces. In the latter case they boil them, cut them to pieces, and dry them in the sun. When the pieces are quite dry they are laid aside, and whenever needed one of them is mashed, reduced to powder, and added to the sauce.

222 137 Now for nobora or noboga (n'kouna in Mandé, kountan in Khassonké /Kasonke/, hèdè in Foulbé and Toucouleur, kounguié in Sarakolé, salo in Nounouma, kansalo in Kassouna).

The nobora is a kind of wild plum tree. Its fruits ripen from the time when millet is sown until the time when it reaches a height of 80 centimeters, that is to say, between May and July.

● 273 The fruits of the n'kouna are either eaten fresh or made into a sort of drink called noborame in Mossi, n'kounangui in Mandé, n'diam hèdam in Foulbé. In all three tongues, this means "nobora (or n'kouna) water." This drink is known throughout the Sudan.

In order to prepare this drink, the fruits are placed in water after being pricked with a small piece of wood to let the juice run, and they are left there for twelve hours. At the end of this period of time, they are removed and the water is boiled for a /505/ quarter of an hour. Once this is done, one takes some of the residue left at the bottom of the canari in which dolo is made, and puts it in the jar containing n'kounangui. The liquid is allowed to rest for one night. In the morning, the drink is gaseous and ready for consumption. It is not as strong as dolo.

273 The Mossi make n'kounangui, like the Bambara, but the Toucouleur and Foulah do not because they are Moslems. The latter's slaves alone, being fetishists make some. The Gourounsi do not make it either, but this is because n'kouna is scarce in Gourounga country. The Gourounsi claim that this tree keeps hyenas away, and when someone dies in the bush and is buried on the spot, a branch of n'kouna is planted where he was buried. It is said that the hyenas will wander about at a distance, but will never dare come close and dig up the body. The Gourounsi claim that this is a matter of common knowledge.

222 137 The léla is another kind of wild plum tree. It is called séno in Bambara and Malinké, filina in Nounouma, mia in Kassouna, mellemoila in Sissala. Its plums are tiny. They are yellow before they ripen, and red when completely ripe (March-May). They are no larger than the tip of the finger, and they are eaten as they are. The almond is not eaten. Children sometimes munch on it, but when eaten in large quantities it causes colic.

The sibi, another tree found in the Mossi bush, is called n'pékou in Bambara and Peuhl, bembé in Sarakolé. The Nounouma called it kakian, the Kassouna kakiéno, the Nankana sibi like the Mossi. The fruit is tiny and sometimes causes colic. It ripens during the dry and warm season, and it is eaten as it comes. The [272] Habé prepare a drink from it which is called diam-n'pékoudian ("n'pékou water") by the local Foulbé and Toucouleur. The Mossi, Gourounsi, and Bambara do not make this drink.

Let us cite also the tiarala (tiaralsé or tiaralésé in the plural, n'ségué in Bambara, saõ in Nounouma). The Mossi are very fond of [276] the tiarala fruit, which is highly aromatic and which is used /506/ to lend fragrance to native tobacco. They also eat the leaves.

Let us proceed to kara (or kaka). This is the Mandé n'taba. It is the Mandé n'taba. It is called dankola in Nounouma and Sissala, kalankola in Kassonboura.

"The n'taba," says André Rançon (Dans la Haute-Gambie, page 35), "is a malvoidea /?/ of the Sterculiacea family. It is the Sterculia cordifolia Cav., thus named because its leaves are heart-shaped. It is one of the most beautiful plants of tropical African regions. It is easily recognized by its enormous trunk, huge leaves,

252 This is how their methods of preparation differ. To make to or sarabout, one simply leaves the millet flour to cook in boiling water, stirring occasionally with a piece of wood or a spoon. To make couscous, on the other hand, one takes a canari, fills it with water, sets it to boil on the fire, and then puts the millet into a gourd which is perforated at the bottom and thus makes a sort of strainer. This gourd is placed over the canari where the water is boiling, and covered with a straw dish. The steam emanating from the canari comes through the holes into the gourd, and since the latter is covered the steam remains there a long time. The millet flour is thus cooked by steaming. At the end of a period of time, the gourd is removed and its contents are left to cool and to dry in the sun. Once the millet flour has thus been cooked and dried, it will keep /560/ almost indefinitely. It is eaten either with water or with milk, which is better, or else, if one has some meat, by boiling the latter and pouring the sarabout into the pot.

The Mossi may not be familiar with couscous, but they are familiar with vessala. This method of preparing millet consists of boiling the flour as it is boiled for sarabout. The difference lies in the amount of flour used. When the mush has been cooked it is allowed to cool, and then fresh or curdled milk is bought and mixed in with it. This kind of mush is made only for the purpose of mixing [17] it with milk. The Bambara are familiar with vessala and call it by name of fisan or finsan.

484 The Mossi, when they are traveling, often cook millet grains 252 which have not been reduced to flour. This is called honandourou-ki 171 ("cooked millet"). The Bambara call it niobalabala, the Foulbe m'bafna-gaouri, the Sarakolé ilé-n'kioro, and all these words have the same meaning. This method of preparing millet is quite unusual, and is resorted to only when the time or means to reduce millet grains to flour are lacking.

[462] Mossi women also make dolo (dama). To do this, they soak the 273 grains of large red millet in water for two days, and then expose them to the sun and crush them. The flour is boiled for two hours, and then strained and boiled in the necessary amount of water for a whole day. This is transferred to another canari and allowed to cool.

431 "I. If by negligence, forgetfulness, or because of an absence
583 (journey), the prospective husband does not make the annual gifts, he will be refused the girl on the day when he comes to have her taken to his home, and he will lose all his rights over her.

"Nevertheless, he will regain all his privileges if in one installment he pays to the head of the girl's family and to her mother all the gifts which he ought to have made during the period of his absence or forgetfulness.

"The head of the family cannot refuse this collective gift and thereby oppose the marriage.

"II. The husband has forgotten to make the gifts and does not come to the home of the family head when the young girl has reached puberty.

"A. If he lives in the area, the failure to call on the head of the family at the required time is regarded as a relinquishment of his rights over the girl. The head of the family may then dispose of her again.

"B. The fiancé has been away on a journey for a long time and is still absent when the girl reaches puberty.

"The head of the family has the fiancé's brother called to him. He offers the girl to him as his bride. The brother is not required to accept, and if he does not, the head of the family recovers all his rights over the girl."

582 Celebration of the marriage. Consummation. —"The girl must have reached puberty (15 or 16 years) in order to be taken to her husband's hut. It is even customary to wait six months or a year after she was first in a state of zim (zim means "blood" in Mossi).

As for the husband, it is equally necessary that he must have attained the age of 17 or 18.

585 The formalities of the marriage ceremony are very simple in Yatenga.

When the betrothed girl has reached puberty, the husband calls on the family head to ask for her. The family head can tell him /239/ to wait six months or a year at most, a delay which the fiancé is required to observe, but usually the head of the family replies that his future wife may be fetched in a few days. The fiancé then hands him
431 a bag and two goatskins full of millet and withdraws. This grain is
273 used to make dolo which is drunk by the girl's entire family.

585 Each woman living in the same soukala makes a gift of one or two
431 gourds to the girl's mother. The father and the head of the family give her two large baskets. These objects will make up the bride's trousseau.

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territory. This report is substantiated by Barth. Marc adds that the caravaneers had

> . . . a considerable amount of incidental expenses. Ten thousand kolas called for two asses or four porters for whom it was necessary to provide food during close to two months. Formerly there had been a certain number of local exactions to pay each time that the caravans crossed a new country. Now there are taxes on the caravans in the Gold Coast and also in French territory. It is also necessary to pay for ferryman who transports the livestock across the Volta [River]. There are risks, and occasionally cattle, fatigued by the trip, arrive in such bad shape that they are sold more cheaply than they had cost. Finally, the realization of profits is often difficult, the kola market being, in the commercial centers of the Mossi, subject to considerable fluctuations at the time when the caravans return. (Marc 1909 : 174)[7]

Sometimes the caravaneers made extensive use of middlemen and did not realize all the profits. Marc, who was stationed at the customs post at Leo on the Mossi border with the Gold Coast, wrote:

> The livestock is bought upon arrival by interpreter-brokers, middlemen between the butchers and the meat merchants, to whom the caravaneers are practically forced to resort. These men buy all the kola nuts brought by the forest natives, and control the market prices . . . . These interpreter-brokers apparently speculate on livestock in a most curious way. They have scouts who go out to meet the caravans, sometimes two days' march to the north. These scouts attempt to alarm the travellers with tendentious remarks, until they are willing to cede their herds at a low price. Some times, at the height of the business season—that is, in January and February—the livestock prices may fluctuate by one hundred per cent within a few weeks. The Mande-Dioula vie in eloquence, the Yarse and Mossi in politeness, the Hausa in friendliness. In reality, there is here, an embryonic trading center, a veritable stock exchange, using extensively indigenous methods. ((Marc 1909 : 173)

According to most reports, all the larger market centers of Mossi country were like this.

Caravan centers, like all the lesser market centers in Mossi country, provided merchants not only with trading opportunities but also with occasions for conviviality after hectic days of travel. At Dakay, south of Wagadougou, livestock traders found musicians, singers, and the most beautiful dancers in the country. And according to Marc, during the whole caravan season the market was abundantly furnished with beer (Marc 1909 : 175). But if the Mossi enjoyed themselves at

(7) Tauxier (1912 : 539) states that each porter was paid 35 francs for the thirty-five days of travels or at the rate of one franc per day. In addition a caravaneer spent about 300 cowries a day on food for each of his bearers.

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and districts were present to honor him. This being completed, the *griots* are paid, everyone rises and shouts *Ne Wardo* (the salutation at funerals), and that part of the funeral ceremony during which a man takes leave of the market community is concluded. Now his relatives, descendants and friends all return to the market, whose sights and sounds make it an integral part of the life cycle of the Mossi—the one institution of their society in which almost everyone participates actively.

Preparation for a market day, especially the tri-weekly Friday market or *Raga kasanga,* usually begins on Thursday. This day is characterized by a great deal of activity: preparing the commodities which are to be sold the next day, washing body and clothes, and combing hair. The women who prepare the beer and fried foods work late into the night preparing their wares, and a visit to the homes of the *griots* finds them preparing their drums. The little boys who go to the roadside to chant Moslem prayers to the passers-by, and the little girls who sell water to these strangers redouble their efforts until late on Thursday night to get enough money to buy presents in the market the next day. Finally, when it is quite late and the beer-making fires are out, everyone retires until the morning of the market.

At 7:00 A.M. on Friday the market is deserted except for a leper who sweeps out the stalls of the sellers in return for bits of food or presents of money. Looking at the empty stalls, one has a certain amount of difficulty imagining that this spot will be crowded with human beings five hours hence. But one is also conscious of the fact that even at this early hour scores of persons have already left their homes in distant villages and are on their way to market loaded with produce and with high hopes for the day. About 9:00 A.M. the first women arrive, balancing net-covered bundles on their heads, and take their positions in the various sections of the market with either face or back pointing to the direction from which they came. By 9:30 A.M. the butchers have arrived with their bleating sheep and goats and an aged cow. The first beer sellers have also arrived and are giving "sips" to men before they settle down to sustained drinking.

The pace of the market quickens about 10:30, and in the distance the first tap of the Bindere's drum resounds. All of a sudden, the market seems to have become a giant magnet, drawing long lines of people towards it along every path and from every direction. Women dressed in brightly colored print cloths and dresses, with babies straddling their backs and the inevitable bundles on their head, saunter into their places. Young children run ahead of their mothers or stumble behind them. Those vendors of European products who customarily transport their goods in boxes on bicycles arrive in the

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market and set up their small tables to display all types of goods from trinkets to single lumps of sugar. And the more numerous young men, who have no goods but have money in their pockets, go to the leaf-covered sheds, place their weapons on top of them, and take seats from which to view the passing parade. Imperceptibly, the hum in the market increases as people find their places and greet one another with *Ne Raga,* the market greeting, until by 11:30 A.M. the whole market reverberates with sounds of drumming, cries of vendors, and the shrill voice of water hawkers and juvenile vendors. Now the market is in full swing.

From midday until about 5:30 P.M., the Mossi market is a sea of humanity—talking, laughing, arranging rendezvous, quarreling, selling, buying, parading, and (where youngsters are concerned) often crying for want of money to buy a desired object. The return of migrants lends additional color and excitement to the market as these young people walk about in their new clothes, encouraging the drummers to sing louder praises, the maidens to feel jealous of the clothes of the migrants' female relatives, the former migrants to reminisce about the days when they too had bright new clothes, and the young boys to dream of going off one day to obtain the things they need.

Men, noting that their female relatives are spending too much time looking over the wares of a vendor of European products or of the kola-nut seller, wander over ostensibly to help in the purchase but really to prevent love affairs. The failure to observe such a precaution may be the cause of the shouting a man hears in the distance, and off he hurries to see whether a lineage brother or a friend may need his aid. He may either get into the battle himself, or aid the Raga Naba and the other elders to chase the battlers out of the market place, or to take them to the chief. This may indeed restore some peace and good fellowship to the market.

Elders, now more interested in beer than in other pleasures, pass the heat of the market day under the beer sellers' shed. From time to time one of them may be interrupted by a young man bringing him three kola nuts, one or two of which are immediately broken and given to friends. However, when an oldster, whether a drinking pagan or a Moslem teetotaler, sees or overhears a young man buying four kolas, he may frown or smile in the knowledge that mischief is afoot. Loud-voiced predictions of the consequences of evil-doing may suddenly disturb the merrymakers as American missionaries speaking in perfect More (the language of the Mossi) appear and harangue the market people. Then, as suddenly, the *Americadamba* depart in their large cars, and the curious pagans, amused Catholics or hostile Moslems who had gathered to hear the gospel return to

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their "evil" and "non-evil" ways. A little later the young men who possess bicycles may be seen suddenly hurrying to avoid the other *nansara*, this time, the French official, who comes into the market to apprehend those individuals who have not bought a bicycle license. All the *nansara* know that the market is the best place to find a Mossi.

Towards 3:00 P.M. the matrons in the market, having sold most of their own goods and bought those which they need, make the last rounds to see whether there are any bargains to be had. In their rounds the women may be badgered by sons, daughters and other relatives, but seldom by husbands, for extra francs to buy kolas or tobacco to bridge them over the two non-market days. Or the women themselves may seek out their male relatives to buy kola or goods, from the stranger who is making the rounds of the local markets. By this time of day the market place is emptying—at first this happens so imperceptibly that one does not notice it. However, by 4:00 P.M. a mass exodus begins as women collect their little children, hitch their babies on their backs, place baskets on their head and set out in the direction of their own villages or to the villages of relatives where they plan to spend time. By this hour also the Bendere are drunk, and for an extra calabash of beer are willing to recount genealogies for which, if sober, they would demand a sheep or goat.

Evening finds the market deserted except for scavenging dogs which hunt the scraps of food dropped by the now departed human beings. The market place finally falls silent, until late at night passing migrants retire there to sleep. These persons leave the market place at dawn to buy food from the women whose hawking cries herald another day of roadside commerce. The women use the profit from this trade to buy goods on the following market days.

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